

**Political History Collection
Interview H.0007.05 : Tape 5**

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Name: (Litang) Athar, Ngawang Norbu [Tib. (li thang) a thar ngag dbang nor bu]

Gender: Male

Age: 62

Date of Birth: 1931

Abstract

Ngawang Norbu [Tib. ngag dbang nor bu], also known as Litang Athar [Tib. li thang a thar], was a monk and trader in Bö. He was part of the first group of six Khambas taken from Kalimpong to Saipan in 1957 by the CIA for training. He was parachuted into Central Tibet in October 1957 to make contact for the Americans with Phala and the Dalai Lama. In this interview, he discusses preparations for war and espionage. He also discusses compromises between the Guomindang and the Tibetan government as well as compromises between the Dalai Lama and Gyalo Thondup.

Tape 5

Q: How old are you?

A: I am 65.

Q: When we, the foreigner look at you, you look like 45 years old.

A: I am really old, all of my companions are dead. I was just able to write my biography in Tibetan. The association [Chushigandru] is doing that.

A: You came to Kalimpong in 56, what month was that?

A: It was in the 10th Tibetan month, about the end of the 9th month? We usually come down when the weather is cooler.

Q: It's not after the Dalai Lama had come?

A: The Dalai Lama had not come. He came in the 10th month. He came for the Buddha Jayanti with the Panchen Lama. We came before that and went to receive them at the airport. We Litangpas were all at Delhi, government officials living around Darjeeling and Kalimpong and Khamba traders and many representatives and people like Alo Chöndze and others who came to relate their hardships. We came to give a petition to Nehru saying that bombs were dropped in Kham Litang and made a lot of suffering, etc. Some of our elders and government officials like the Jenkhentsisum and the monk officials who ran away. [interruption] So it was in the 9-10 month and then we came for a pilgrimage. The Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama came and you will find the dates in their books. So at that time, we were there. We came to give the petition to Nehru House which is today the Nehru Museum. We were young then, I was 19 and I don't know what was replied or anything said. We didn't know that language and all we were interested in just looking around. At that time, the Indians were looking at us. We were all in our twenties and we all wore Khamba chupa and had our hats on and had long knives at our waist and hung another one from here and the people like Nehru and others were laughing at us. At that time, the house had beautiful gardens and today I realized it was the Nehru Museum.

Q: When you first came, there were 27 young men and it seems to me that maybe Gyadotsang Lagen and Andrutsang had already discussed about the training.

A: This is the way. In my country in Litang, they were fighting with the Chinese. Letters was sent from Litang. One to the Tibetan government, one to the Sendreghasum, another to us, [Litang] traders and then one to all the Khamba traders. A messenger was sent. So what was said in the letter was, "We are fighting with the Chinese and the situation is very bad. The Chinese bombed us and all the monks have become soldiers and left to the outside. Many lamas were killed and made to suffer and so everyone has

left to the surrounding areas and are fighting. Our Jiso of Litang monastery was at Lhasa and so whatever the capital money he had should be the main capital and in addition to that, all of you, the traders should pool it on that. If our Tibetan country becomes well again we, the Litang and the villages will reimburse you all later. The chabu's money is our common money and so you take that and go to the outside and get help from America or Taiwan". At that time, in our minds we were going to contact Taiwan since it was said that the Guomindang was the enemy of the communists. The Tibetans had no contact with the Americans and all we knew was that the Americans did not like the communists. So such a letter came to us traders. To the Tibetan government it was said that the situation in Tibet has become very poor. Our monastery in Kham was the biggest with over 5000 monks and the Chinese bombed us and killed the lamas and the monks and many have taken to the surrounding areas and many things like that happened. The areas around Litang, like Chantreng, Ba, all the monasteries were bombed -like Ba Chödegön, Chantreng Sampheling [Tib. bsam 'phel gling]. So whatever the Tibetan government can do, better do it now since the same thing is going to happen all over Tibet". So this was in the letter. The same was said to us traders, that you traders should not stay trading and think of profits because you cannot return home. Whatever money you have go to the outside and do whatever work you can do - contact Taiwan or US and try to get arms and ammunition.

Q: Who sent this letter?

A: This was from the Litang monastery and sent by Deyong Atrin [Tib. de yong a 'phrin] a monk who was the commander [Tib. dmag dpon] of all the monk and lay people of Litang. He was previously the chabu, like the Roman counsel. This was done through the vote. One has to do the chabu for 6 years and then the drönyerchemmo. He did all that and led the battle. In Litang, Yönrupön was killed and many other Pön and many people were killed and everyone was scattered. So he [Deyong Atrin] regrouped them and carried on a guerrilla warfare. He sent a messenger to Tibet for the Lhasa traders. He was very intelligent. So all the young Litangpas in their 20's and 30's discussed and said that the situation has come to such a stage and so we all must do something. So we all decided to ask Andru Gombo Tashi who was a big trader what to do. Other than that he was nothing like [traditional leader] except from a big family and being a large trader.

Q: Around this time how old was Andru?

A: I don't remember, but he must be in his 50's. Maybe 60. This picture over there was taken just before he died. So he must have been 60-70. So we traders discussed saying that there is no use in trading and we must find a place to go to the outside. There were about 50 odd persons and we told Gombo Tashi. He said, "Alright, I will see what can be done. I have given the letter to the government and the three monasteries".

Q: The letter from Litang was given to Gombo Tashi and he gave to the government and the monasteries?

A: Yes. So we all discussed and Gombo Tashi said, "Don't stay trading because if you do that, then everyone will be preoccupied with that and we cannot do any good work. That the fight in the homeland has already begun and so whatever money you have buy horses and arms. One day the Chinese are going to make us suffer and so at that time you have to be ready to fight and do something". So at that time we were young and just wanted to fight and thought that we could just handle the Chinese and kill many of them at once. So one day Gombo Tashi said that a few of you younger ones go to India and the other half stay with me and try to contact Taiwan or the US. So we said this is good.

Q: So, at that time did he tell you to contact Gyadotsang Lagen and others?

A: He was staying at Kalimpong.

Q: Did he come before or after the fighting in Litang?

A: He came long time ago. At that time, they were getting the 500 beggars together and accusations had begun and starting the problem and criticizing each other. So at that time, Gyadotsang was told that he was a big family and did this and that, etc, etc. So when they heard of all this Gyadotsang Wangdü, and the two elder monk uncles with about 50 mules and with their silver bricks and money went to Lhasa and went straight to India. He sold the silver at Gangtok. I think at the time the Tibetan government sold their silver. Wangdü was with me and he said he had silver and one full box [jako?] of gold coins with the elephant brand in Gangtok. So he was rich comparatively in our country. So Gyadotsang family was in Kalimpong. So we came and met Gyado Lagen and Wangdü and were there. Andru Lodrö Phuntso, a relative of Andru I think. So [he] was the real Andrusang - the one who died in New York was Lodrö Phuntso's wife. So when we met them and said what we should do, there was the idea of going to Taiwan and no talk of making relations with the US. What we had heard was that Phünkhang Lhajang was making some relations or something like that. Now she was an aristocrat and we don't have any relations. So she doesn't come to us and neither did we go and so things stayed like that. So one day at Kalimpong there was this Guomindang spy. I don't know his name. He was an elder person and also his wife was there. Their children were all at Kalimpong. We met him and asked him what help Guomindang can give. We had many who could understand Chinese. We said we wanted to go to Taiwan and whether Taiwan can give us arms. That we are presently fighting in Litang and that we need arms to be dropped and the wireless training. So he said that he will discuss with Taiwan.

Q: When this talk was going on, was it before the Dalai Lama coming?

A: It was before that. At that time, the Dalai Lama didn't come to Kalimpong. So this man said that the Guomindang has agreed and are very happy. That they will give training and arms. Then one day while we were staying like this Gyado Lagen, Gyalo Thöndup, Andru Lodrö Phuntso and Jenkhentsisum aristocrats had met. Gyalo Thondup said that there was no use in going to Taiwan since they are relying on the Americans. So it is better to go to the US. Relations are being made with the US. That it was very good of you young people to come. That was the gist of the talk. So one day we were told to come and this is what we were told. So we said that is excellent. If Americans are going to help, then they are a big and strong country.

Q: When you were told to come was Gyalo Thondup the only one there or what?

A: When we were discussing, Gyalo Thondup was not the only one. We were told to come to Jayangshar Khenjung's house. Gyalo Thondup said that it is great that you have come, you are very enthusiastic and after going through many hardship, you came here. So I will see what can be done. So we said that he is the Dalai Lama's brother and someone to believe in. That the Tibetan government aristocrats, Jenkhentsisun was also there.

Q: Was Shakabpa there?

A: That day at the meeting, Shakabpa was not there. However, Shakabpa knows that we came there, because when we went to Delhi, an interpreter was sent and the expenses were paid too. This was given by Jenkhentsisun. The Tibetan government may have paid the money. So we were happy with what Gyalo Thondup said and we decided not to go to Taiwan.

Q: At first Guomindang agreed to help, then Gyalo Thondup said wait and he will talk to the Americans. So did you inform Andrusang?

A: No, we did not say anything. We just decided here.

Q: So at this time, were you thinking that you were the Chushigandru or Litangpa?

A: The Chushigandru had not begun and so we were thinking that we were Litangpa. So when we were training at Okinawa, the Chushigandru started at Lhasa. We were thinking of going to Litang and there was no plans of going to Lhasa. The fight was on in Litang and so all arms were for Litang. So we decided not to go to Taiwan. This Taiwan man came many times asking for names and photographs. We did not give them any because Gyalo Thondup told us do not go to Taiwan. So Gyalo Thondup said that we will do his best to send as many as possible. So we waited. During this time, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama came to India. So we went to make the petition to Nehru and went to Delhi. There we met the Dalai Lama and we told him that we have come from Litang and that the Chinese caused much hardship. The Dalai Lama stayed at a guest house and we all went there. Gyadotsang Lagen and another elderly Litangpa was there who had come from Litang. His name was Khechog [Tib. mkhas mchog].

Q: Was he part of the 27 men?

A: No. He was an old monk I think a trader friend of my companions. Then my companion's elder brother had come from Litang after fighting and the monastery was lost. So they told all their story to the Dalai Lama. So the Dalai Lama did not say much except to tell them not to lose heart and relax, slowly things may get better and there maybe some ways to solve it. So don't lose heart. So the Dalai Lama gave a Ganden Lhagya transmission and that was it and then we went for a pilgrimage. When we got to Bodh Gaya, Taktse Rimpoche came and we were staying at the gates of the Chinese temple. He took photos and wrote our stories.

Q: Story on each person?

A: Yes, on each person. Like where are you from and what happened to your country. He said such things have happened to your country and you have suffered so much and so don't lose heart and we all should see what can be done. So there were the two brothers of the Dalai Lama and so we were also happy.

Q: Did Taktse Rimpoche say anything about the US assistance.

A: Nothing, only to say that they are going to get the help. So when such things happened we were sort of contented and via Bodh Gaya we went to Kalimpong. There at Kalimpong, the Tibetan government [not the government in reality] said - I don't know where the message came from, whether it was Gyalo Thondup or Jenkhentsisun. Anyway, the message came to Gyadotsang and Andrusang saying that we have to go to Sharsingma, a town in Yadong to start a war. That we have to block the road so that the Dalai Lama cannot return. There is a sort of base of the Chinese military camp and so we were to go and fight there. So at Kalimpong we were seeing who had guns, there were some of our Litangpa, Chantreng, Baba and some other traders. I heard that there were about 70-80.

Q: At this time, the Dalai Lama was in Kalimpong?

A: Yes, at the Bhutan Trashö [Tib. drag shos] House. At Kalimpong, there is Lobsang Palden [Tib. blo bzang dpal ldan] [Paljor already interviewed] and another person who already died. They borrowed the two excellent mules of Andru Surpa Tsewang Phuntso [a 'brug zur pa tshe dbang phun tshogs] [in New York] who was related to Andrusang and he was called the secondary branch [Tib. zur pa] of Andrusang and these two Litangpas went to Lhasa to tell the Military headquarters as well as Andru [both] to start a war in Lhasa. Two of them from our group. At Lhasa, the Military headquarters said that they cannot be responsible since its risky and so we cannot fight. Like this, the Military headquarters was not attentive of the letter. Now, if the Military headquarters cannot fight then its not possible for Gombo Tashi to prepare for the war, right? So they could not cause any trouble in Lhasa. If it was possible to start trouble at Lhasa and then at Sharsingma then the Dalai Lama could not have gone back. So the kudra at Kalimpong planned this and I don't know how high up the decision went whether it was the idea of the Dalai Lama or the Kashag or whether it was the idea of the Jenkhentsisun. We were young and didn't know. However, it stayed in my mind because we were told that we have to go. I have a gun at Phari. I have a brother and we left our guns at Phari. I had a servant and two of us to go. At that time, my mother and my relative was in Kalimpong. So one day it was said that we don't have to go. The reason being that if Lhasa cannot make trouble then 70-80 of us making problems at Yadong would not be helpful. Then the Dalai Lama stayed at Gantok for 15 days or so and then left. At that time, the kudras at Kalimpong and we were very sad thinking that they were not able to do something and keep the Dalai Lama in India.

Then in the 2nd [8th] month, day 20 I think, Gyalo Thondup called us at night. During the day, Gyado Wangdü was informed and told that the people should come without money, watches or rings and get 6 men ready and come and have them put on some light clothes. They had the clothes bought in the market and was like the kurta surta [pajama-like Indian loose shirt-pant].

Q: So this was for the training?

A: Yes. It was all secret and we didn't know where we were going. So they came and gave a message as to who would go.

Q: So Wangdū said this?

A: Probably, they had brought the names. I don't know whether they choose from our files and the photos, but was probably something like that.

Q: So this was chosen from the Gyalo Thondup side?

A: Can't say it was Gyalo Thondup's choice or the American or whose choice it was, I don't know. Anyway 6 names were chosen. So we went at night and we didn't inform our mothers or relatives. So money and clothes were left behind along with a note which said that we are going for a walk and so don't worry. So I left my keys and some money under the pillow. There was an elderly monk, who used to stay with me. I said, "I'm leaving my money and keys and a letter and so look after them. I am going for a walk". So he said okay. He was from Litang. He just died recently.

Q: At first, you were 27 people and since only 6 were going, were they not disappointed?

A: Poor fellows, there was nothing to be disappointed. We were disappointed too since it would have been good if all could go but only 6 were chosen. Gyalo Thondup said that gradually the others would be sent. So we thought that this would be done and so we left. Then on the 20th day, we were asked to wait at 9th mile at Tibet House [about a mile and half before the main town] which belonged to the Tibetan government. Gyalo Thondup came in a black car and took us straight to Siliguri and then we went in some tea gardens. Then after some time, there was no place to go. The car was left there [and they walked] and his Siling or Amdo cook called Gelong something was sent with us. Gyalo Thondup had a compass. We didn't know what it was and while Gyalo Thondup looked at it I peeked from the side. Then after sometime Gyalo Thondup left and we were left in the hands of his servant. He looked at the compass and we came to a large stream, the waters from the Tashidrag [Tib. bkra shis brag] [Teesta]. We tried from all sides and we could not go. Finally, at that time, Gelong almost died in the water, but he could catch something. Among us except Wangdū could swim a little bit, nobody could swim. The weather was very hot and when we get into the water, we got sunk in the sand. Then when we went down, we came to a wider part of the river. Then we came across the macadam covered road. Then we came to a forest where there was grasses and our guide told us to lie down there. We couldn't stay there because the insects [mosquitos] bit us very much. Then we saw many soldiers passing by. When we looked at them under the moonlight, we thought that they were Indian soldiers carrying the 303 English Carbine. Then they made the torch signal to each other and they met and the guide called us to come saying that they came to help us. Then they came to know that they were the soldiers of the East Pakistan.

Q: One of the Pakistan soldiers spoke fluent Tibetan, right?

A: No, they didn't know Tibetan. At that time, there was Thöndrub, Tagtse Rimpoche's servant who is in America who married a Mongolian woman.

Q: What I heard was one person was called Adaula was there?

Q: I didn't hear about this. He might be there when other people sent later on. I didn't know what signal they gave to our guide. There might be a signal. If they didn't have a torch light signal, they won't dare to go, right? When we met the Tagtse Rimpoche's servant who was with the Pakistan soldiers, he gave us the greeting by saying Tashi Deleg. Then we were driven in a jeep for about 2 hours and we arrived at a single house. In that there was an old American. he got up and was very glad and gave us some biscuits and we just drank water and we went down. Till around 10 p.m. we didn't get tea and food and we were very hungry [laughter] because we have been walking the whole night without any thing to eat. We didn't even get a good food in Kalimpong also.

At around 10 p.m. we were brought to a house which happened to be a regiment. There they gave us the Pakistan food and bread and tea. It was Indian food. On that night, we were taken in a train. It was a first class train where there were some pretty girls and we teased them [laughter]. At that time, the miser in that place might have thought that we are prisoners and they came to watch us and the Pakistan soldiers were very strict and they drove them away. We travelled in the train for more than a day and night and we arrived at a airport. At that time, we didn't know where we were, but now I guess it was Dhaka. We stayed in a house near the airport and in that place they served good food like tin foods. Probably, there were soldiers living around there. Then we flew off and now I can guess that was Bankok and the plane stopped there for an hour. Probably, they were fueling the plane. Then I guess we arrived Taiwan because there were many Chinese characters written and there were many jets flying. At that time, we haven't seen the jets very much.

Q: At that time, they didn't tell you where you were, right?

A: How could they tell us where we were going? They didn't tell us anything. We stopped for 1-2 days in Taiwan. Then we arrived at Okinawa and there were many houses on the mountain where we met Taktse Rimpoche and had the physical check up in the regiment and 6 of us told that our body is okay. After few days, we were flew off about 4 hour to some Island. It was the inferior kind of plane used for shipping loads. We were taken to the corner of that island which seemed to be the place where the Americans fought with the Japanese. Now I heard that probably the place was called Guam. Jagged Island where the main training took place and there was a airport and the helicopter landing place. Underneath the airport, it was a storeroom. In that we had the training in map, guerrilla training, wireless, etc.

Q: Were all the teachers American?

A: Yes.

Q: Did the teachers go there at that time?

A: Yes, the teachers were all Americans. Tagtse Rimpoche and his servant were there and Tagtse Rimpoche was the main teacher. Gyentsen didn't know the language well and he had difficulty in the interpreting and he would go to ask Tagtse Rimpoche. He could only translate the things when they taught about the maps. He couldn't interpret when they taught us about the intelligence work and the guerrilla training. We were trained for 6 months. In the beginning, we were taught the parachuting.

Q: I heard from Frank saying that you people were famous and when you jumped, you just did like playing around with the chutes by pulling it hither and thither? Was that true?

A: Yes, that was true. What we were thinking was that we wanted to do something that we had never done. It was like sending people on the moon which was never done before. At that time, the Tibetan people had never been parachuted and dropped. It was a some kind of great modern thing, right? So we were thinking it is very happy to be parachuted. When we were asked, "Do you want to go back walking or do you want us to drop you in Tibet?" We said, "Please drop us. If you don't drop us, we would have to take the wireless equipment through the border and we have to go such a long distance. We have to go to Kalimpong from America and we have to walk from Kalimpong. It would take 3-4 months to get to Litang. On the way, we would get killed by the Chinese and you couldn't use us". Then they told us to sign our names and we signed our names. Then they started training and in the beginning, they made us to jump from this much height and made it higher and higher. Then they had made a long iron stand and drop us from there like dropping from the plane. This parachute training was done like 15 minutes and half an hour as sideline in the morning and evening. They trained us to bend our bodies and take out our heads. But, since in Tibet, the wind is strong, we couldn't do that when we were dropped there. The actual jumps were made at Okinawa since Guam was too jagged. We could see people wearing very big straw hats. I don't know whether they were Japanese or Chinese. After the parachute was opened, then we just watched down and try to pull the chute hither and thither to find out whether it could be pulled that way or this way. That was also a kind of training because in Tibet, there are forests and the rocks. We also sang in the sky and it was really happy and no fear at all.

Q: You guys were very famous in the CIA. [laughter]

A: After all of the training was over and we were the first group consisted of 6 people. We made 7 jumps.

Q: Did you make the jumps in Guam?

A: No, it was in Okinawa. In Guam there were many rocks in the sea. When we landed, we fold up the chute and go like we reached Tibet. At that time, Okinawa was occupied by the Americans, but we didn't know then. After the training was over, two groups were formed. I was the better in wireless in receiving it and I could receive 40 groups in one minute.

Q: What do you mean group in this?

A: There are 4 numbers in one group.

Q: Were the letters kind of word?

A: Yes, each letter is a word. If this is 7623, it is one group.

Q: What does 7 mean here?

A: 7 itself does not have any meaning, but when the 7 is changed up and down. Every thing was put in a main book and you have to look in that.

Q: Is one group a name?

A: Yes, the Tibetan [Tib. dpal] is one group. [Tib.'byor] is another group and on top of the [dpal 'byor], it has a number and you have to take it. Wireless is very amazing, you have to change it many times.

Q: How big is the wireless set up?

A: The former ones were big, but latest ones were good. The sender is like a foot long and the receiver is this much long. I think it is like 4 x 6 or more. Then a generator was the one used in the Second World war which people have to mount on it and turn it with the sound, "Won won".

Q: You need two people, right?

A: Even if you have 2 people, you can't send it. For example, if I was sending it, he would get tired to turn the generator. We called my companion's brother who was a young guy to turn the generator. We need 3 people. At that time, they had the Solar system battery, but it did not work well and it gets broken. Then we just threw it away. The generator was a very good one. We could wire all of the world. There was no problem to wire from Tibet to America. It was very stable.

Q: How big was the generator?

A: The sender and the receiver were carried by one person, the generator by another person which was very heavy and one man could hardly carry it on his back. Then we have to carry the gun and the food also. The receiver was light and the sender was little bit heavy and then the battery which join the generator and receiver is quite heavy.

Q: Do you need the generator when you receive?

A: Yes, we need it for all.

Q: How could you know when they are going to wire you?

A: For receiving, there were exact times for each day and exact frequency. The US had the frequencies open so easy to send and you have to set up the frequencies on your radio. I would look at the time table.

Q: Normally, would they send the wireless in day time or at night?

A: They would send it in day time and also at night. I could also give them my time saying that I am going to send you at this time. It depends on me who is in Tibet. This is because in Tibet, it is dangerous and difficult. Over here, they could leave the radio open during 24 hours. We have to carry the load and go where there is no people and send the wireless and then hid them some where.

Q: How would you carry it since it is a secret work?

A: We carry it like the Tibetans carry loads in the rucksack with the wooden frames like the pilgrimages. If we carry them like the American way, the Chinese will look at it. So there were two groups- I and Lhotse for Lhasa and Wangdu and others was a group of 4 people were sent to Litang.

Q: Did Tagtse Rimpoche send them?

A: Yes, this was a plan of the America and Tagtse Rimpoche. Two of us said that we are not going to Lhasa since we don't know the Tibetan government Kudrak or the soldiers and some are pro-Chinese and they will hand us in like Alo Chöndze was handed over to Chinese and he had to flee. Taktse Rimpoche insists saying, "If you don't go to Tibet, the world don't know that there is a danger for the Dalai Lama's life and what the Chinese are doing. We have to tell what the Chinese are doing daily. You can receive more wireless. So you have to go". I said, "I am sorry, I can't go. In the beginning, I came here for my homeland. So I am going to my homeland. I am not going to Lhasa. The half of the Tibetan government kudra have turned towards the Chinese and half of them turned towards us and we don't know who is good and who is bad because we were just like muleteers and horsemen and not elites". He said, "You two don't need to go to meet them. You can meet Gompo Tashi and Phala Drönerchemmo and do every thing through Andru". When we were getting the training in Guam, I received a letter from Gompo Tashi saying, "I heard about you people from Gyalo Thondup and so train very well and don't lose your aim and tell them your aim and I am thinking of starting the Chushigandru and offering the golden throne, asking for the Kalachakra Initiation and performing the live life ritual for the Dalai Lama".

Q: Did you think that regarding you did not wish to go to Bö, Gambo Tashi may have known and so he wrote that letter?

A: Probably, he might have heard it. We really did not want to go because we did not think anything would be accomplished. We were sure that with the arms in Kham we could fight. One years training was cramped into in 6 months and we were trained from 5 a.m to 12 p.m. at night, the teacher will stay till 10 p.m. We had only 5 hours sleep during 6 months. Later, when we trained other people in Colorado, they could not get trained like that even in one year.

Q: Why?

Q: Because all people were doing at one's own will. We had been trained in a very tense manner. Even now, I would dream the training and places because we were very tired and I also dream about to going to bathe in the sea on Sundays. Later, I came to know that the Americans did not treat us well. For example, they didn't even set up an air condition or a cooler for us. We only had the fan though it was very hot. When we wear the earphone, I would sweat very much and even the sweat would get into my ears. Later, I told them that you didn't treat us well and treated us like barbarians and didn't train us well.

Q: Was there any connection between the Andru's letter and the matter that you didn't want to go to Lhasa?

Q: There wasn't any connection and he didn't say any thing about this. Andru's letter just said that you should get trained well. I am doing this work. Taktse Rimpoche impressed upon me to go to Lhasa saying that if things in Central Tibet are no good then just doing something in Kham is not helpful. That Andru is making a organization there and that the government will also do something and the Tibetan government officials also have the plan to oppose the Chinese. You have to able send the information right away. So we [trainees] met and discussed about what they said and shall we do. At that time, we were told that we are not even allowed to tell each other where we are going. But, we told each other about where we are going because we came here with a same goal and we trusted each other. Finally, we decided to go in two groups; one go upwards [central Tibet] and one go downwards [Kham].

Then we accepted to go and two of us asked them what is the work that two of us should do? We were told that our work was to contact the Tibetan government through Andru and Phala and get the government's plans like are they going to oppose the Chinese by force or working on the secret movements. Some of the kudra don't like the Chinese and they know the situation and tell you the about that and you have to send them here. Second, the Dalai Lama's life is in danger and safeguarding his life is the responsibility of all Tibetans. So we have to be able to tell the world what bad things the Chinese are doing to the Dalai Lama through the wireless. So find out about what good plans and bad plans the Chinese have - about situation and sent information so we can tell the world. Third, the Khambas led by Andru Gompo Tashi have organized their group. So find out what they are doing and their plan and what should we help. These three are the main duties. Then, just general information like what are the Chinese doing and where they were building the regiments and the number of soldiers, radar location, bridges etc. This was what the Americans wanted to know about the intelligence.

Q: Didn't you have the duty to make small teams [Tib. tshogs chung]?

A: We were told that regarding the starting of tsogchung, the people who are staying there [in Lhasa] will do their part. Tibetan

government will make theirs and Chushigandru will make their own. And two of you is to help them with the training and what ever you can help. Train others in intelligence and guerrilla. Intelligence like collecting intelligence info on what the Chinese are up to.

Q: For example, what was the intelligence training?

A: The most important thing was to find out what is the Chinese doing, how strong the Chinese military is and how many soldiers are arriving and do the Tibetan like it not, did it harm the livelihood of the people. This was called economy training like what kind of things the Chinese are consuming related to the Tibetan livelihood and how the people disliked it. On political matters, what are the Chinese doing to the Tibetan government and what is Ngabö Ngawang Jimei [Tib. nga phod ngag dbang 'jigs med] and other important people up to and what did they say on the meeting. Do they like the Chinese or not. So different teachers come to teach different things - assembling and dismantling and cleaning guns, guerrilla tactics, map, etc for 2-3 hours. Most of the training was wireless and the teacher would stay with us for 24 hours. If we didn't send the wireless, how could the Americans come to Tibet carrying arms. Map was also very important and we learned in every detail and I am an expert on maps. When I look at the way the college students, they don't know any thing and they are just like playing. So I burst into laughter. What we learned was the right one. For example, we had the map of Guam and we learned the degree system of the compass with the degree like $9 \times 4 = 36$ from west and the east and the north and in the map there are the numbers here and there and we have to count the latitude and longitude and confirm the degree of place where I am staying. But in Tibet, it was very difficult since the map was not so detailed. At that time, in America they had the Tibetan map made by the Guomindang. At that time, we were also quite well trained in wireless and could make the communications though we couldn't become very well trained in several months.

I think among the people dropped in there, two of us did well. The reason is that we contacted the Tibetan government and the Chushigandru and the Chushigandru set up the organization. We saw off the Dalai Lama to the border and send the wireless about his daily arrivals and sent the wireless to the US about March 10 uprising. Got the letter from Phala saying that the Dalai Lama is coming. It took 3 days to get this letter through the messenger because we were at Lhoka then.

Q: Where were you at that time?

A: I was at Lhuntse and when I went there, I met the Dalai Lama on the mountain pass at Chongye Riudechen. So I sent the wireless about the receiving the letter and the Dalai Lama's arrival. They replied and asked "You go right away there and send the information clearly because the Dalai Lama is in danger because the Chinese might cause trouble. What is the Tibetan government's plan for the Dalai Lama to make him get out - what is the plan of the Khambas?" But, we Khambas had no plans except to sent soldiers and prepare to receive him. The plans in the palace was made by the kudras - so we can't do anything about that, right? Then I met the Dalai Lama and the drönyerchemmo. Drönyerchemmo and the kudra were very glad. I had 70 odd soldiers with me and good arms who collected the things that was airdropped. There was about one company, but there were only 70 odd with two of us [second drop]. We planned the Dalai Lama to stay at Lhuntse because the US will help us.

Q: Did you tell this to the Dalai Lama?

A: Yes, I did. At first, we prepared for the Dalai Lama to stay, but the kudra got excited like sitting on the thorn when the messenger came and told about shelling the Norbulingka and Potala and about the destruction of Jogpori and then the Dalai Lama left.

Q: Actually, the Chinese were not so close, right?

A: . Yes, it was 5-6 days away in Tsethang and Lhasa. Unless they came in planes. Planes could be destroyed since they were on mountain tops and the Tibetan government and we had machine guns to shoot the planes from the mountains.

Q: At that time, how many soldiers were there with the Dalai Lama?

A: Altogether, there were about 2,000-3,000 Chushigandru soldiers and 500 soldiers were sent and they circled the Chinese regiment in Tsethang and guards were posted at all the ferry sites on this side of the river. So there were no Chinese. There were 200 Chushigandru soldiers. I had 70 - then there were about 100 Gusung soldiers of the Tibetan government and they didn't have horses to ride. They could catch up with the Dalai Lama only on the day after the Dalai Lama had arrived. Wireless was sent to America to ask India for the permission for the Dalai Lama with his mother, the cabinet ministers and the tutors altogether 37 people to come to India.

Q: Did Phala tell you this?

A: I got the letter from Phala to this effect and I sent the wireless through the daily frequencies. We had to wait for one day at the border. US had wireless open 24 hours. Then the reply arrived saying the permission was granted and I gave it to the drönyerchemmo. I don't know whether the Americans told the Indians or Gyalo Thondup told the Indians. Also land message regarding granting the permission also came through Bapa Jangra Legshe and jangchub Jinpa, two men sent by Gyalo Thondup. At the border, I got the audience of the Dalai Lama and he was very glad and said that when two of you came to Tibet, I knew about it and could not make connections because of the Chinese and so don't be disappointed. From now on we all have the same goal. You should work hard here and I will go down and do whatever I could in the world. At that time, Gompo Tashi was at the north and the Dalai Lama gave two of us his sealed edict saying Gompo Tashi is appointed as the Magji dzasa of Tibet and gave each two of us and Gompo Tashi one bead of the rosary belonged to many Dalai Lamas from the Fifth Dalai Lama and he also gave us some Jigje Mahe talisman.

Q: Before you received the telegram regarding [the Dalai Lama] going to India, last time you said that you had a talk with Phala and asked him whether we should make war or not. So he [Phala] said that it is confirmed that we would make war with the Chinese. So please send a wireless to request the US for the arms support. Do you remember about this?

A: After we got here [Lhoka], Phala sent a letter requesting them [US] for the arms support. When we were in Tibet, they [Tibetan government] didn't have any plan and they couldn't send letters. Actually, there should be a point or plan to tell the Americans please do this for us. But, they couldn't do anything. At last, they sent the letter to us, the Chushigandru to seek the support. I remember that they had send a letter like this. At that time, the Americans had said that they will help the Dalai Lama 100% what ever he needs. This was the answer through the wireless. But, they didn't say anything that they need this or that. He [Dalai Lama] just said that he could no longer stay in Tibet, so please ask the Indian [government] for the permission to come to India. This was the last.

Later, I told the Kashag, "Nowadays, you are telling me that I am not allowed to talk with Taiman and I am not allowed to do this and that. At that time, I was allowed to do what ever I did. The American I met in Kolcutta had agreed to do many things and he told me, "You people should do this and that and then we will help you. I promised about that and signed my name and he send my signature to America. The Tibetan government didn't give it [the signature]. At that time, I was allowed to any thing.

Q: Tell me about what he agreed in Kolcutta. I have never heard about this.

A: Finally, we made the decision whether the Americans would help us on the military support. In general, the [US] had agreed to do the military support for Kham when we were making war there, but when the Chushigandru came to Lhoka, we set up the soldiers and opposed the Chinese and became the guerrilla. So we need the arms and it was useless just to say some thing verbally. So we told the Americans, " We need the arms support. If you don't make the arms support, it is useless for you to have us dropped in Tibet. At that time, two of us already among the guerrilla and the Khambas have already formed the organization and there are several thousands of people have arrived. At first, we need to have the Americans to get 500 people trained for us wherever you would like to. We need 20 wireless groups and we need to have 40 people trained for this. Among the 40 people they have to stay 4 people in each group. For the first, we need 10 groups and in the second, we need 10 groups to be set up. If we didn't have the wireless, we can't have the communication and we didn't have the motorable road in Tibet and the telephone. We can hear the events after one week or 10 days. We need to have the wireless set up every where. Secondly, we need to have the infantry arms which you Americans used in the Second World War. Please help to have those weapons" We had seen the American weapons in the movies, though they didn't train us well how to use those weapons. But, the Americans trained us to use the machineguns like the 4S and 50 caliber. So we told them that we need those weapons that infantry could carry on their backs and we also need the hand grenade and the bombs for destroying bridges and the houses. We also need the cannon 57.

A: Was that the mortar?

A: No, that was a cannon that can be carried on the shoulder and fired it and it can be carried by the soldiers.

Q: Was that bazukha?

A: No, at that time, there weren't tanks in Tibet, so we didn't need bazukha. At that time, they gave us the rocket for destroying the bridges and vehicles. For that we didn't need the bazukha. We can place secretly where ever we want to like on a wooden plank and lay down a invisible string on the road. When we use the torch battery, the rocket goes off and destroy the target.

Q: For example, how many people could use the weapons that was supported?

A: At that time, we requested the arms support for 10, 000 soldiers. We thought of gathering all the soldiers from the three provinces of Tibet and fight. This was the plan that we told them. In Lhoka there were only over 5000 soldiers led by Gompo Tashi. The Khambas that arrived at India were all soldiers. Otherwise, the Khambas won't come here because our homeland is far away. This was decided in Kolcatta. This was also written in the biography of Trunyila [Lhamo Tsering] because he was the Chinese interpreter then. The American spoke fluent Chinese. In the past, it is secret and even some one told me to tell this and he will give several lakhs Rupees, but I would never tell this. The Americans gave us the support and the intelligence training till 1971. But, since Dr Kesinger went to China and then the Americans stopped all the support. Even now, we, Khambas are hoping that in the future, if the Americans didn't help us, there is no one helping us. So we kept those things as secret and we didn't tell people about this. People came to ask me about this from France and Italy and the Americans also. But, I didn't tell them about this. This is because although our chapter was kind of finished, but in the future if we would have to do something with the Americans, the American might think that it is not good to help the Tibetans because they would do no good and do this [reveal the secret].

Now, the Americans themselves are talking about that in their news. Last time, when I was in Washington, I saw in a book about this though it was not that clear, but the intelligence leak outs were in that book. So from the Tibetan side, there is no need to keep it secret because the past is past and chapter is finished. Therefore, it will neither harm the Khambas nor the Americans and there is nothing beneficial for the Chinese also. Now, every body is writing their history. So I am telling this to whom ever would ask me because I was the person who contacted America and the first person dropped in Tibet. And now I am the only one who is still alive. There is no need to hide this and more over, our children will also know how they have gone through the hardships. So we should do some work.

But the Tibetan people are very jealous. They don't like each other and try to suppress each other. This is our kind of custom. Since last year, they caused me a lot of trouble and in this year, I also have trouble. Maybe, Paljor la have heard about this.

Q: Yes, I heard about that a little bit.

A: Now, they have made the Tibetan government and the Dalai Lama confronted [Tib. mgo rdung gtugs] with me. As for me, I used to say that the Dalai Lama is my root guru from the religious side and from the political side, I trusted him 100% from the early times. But, nowadays what I am thinking is that Gyalo Thondup made the relations with Chinese for many years and went to China and did a lot saying that Tibet is not independent. This is what all of us know and the whole world knows it. It is clear that he was talking about Tibet is not independent. What Deng Xiaoping said was, "Do not come to me to talk carrying the word independent Tibet in your mouth". He gave the full objection. But, the Tibetan government was still going to talk with the Chinese. So all of us

the Khambas are regarding that the Tibetan government is not talking about Tibetan independence. Even if Tibet would not become independent, we still laid our hope on the Dalai Lama that the things would work out well. But, in between that, the thing called give and take came out. When we watched whether Gyalo Thondup is the only person saying that, not only him, the Dalai Lama was also saying that. So we thought that if they are talking about give and take, we would belong to the category of giving and not taking. We had been working hard for many years with the Chinese and we were saying that Dharamsala is the Tibetan government and we were saying, "Our lama, our leader [Tib. dpon po] and our government". But, if they are going to give us away, then Dharamsala is not anything to us, right? If this is the case, all of our goals are lost. This is the major or gist of the matter. On this matter, all the Khambas are disappointed and all people who knew about the event and when they use their brain, they know that this is something too much [Tib. zhed drag red]. The goal of our Chushigandru led by Gombo Tashi was to gain the total independence for the three provinces [Tib. chol kha] of Tibet and now I am sitting on the chair of the Chushigandru and we all have the same goal. But, the Tibetan government is making relations with the Chinese and came out the thing called give and take. When we listened what the Assembly and the Cabinet Ministers are talking about, they were talking about that Tibet is not totally independent and talking about the give and take and we should take whatever we could get. They were not talking about that it would not be okay if we didn't gain the independence for the three provinces of Tibet.

Since 1977, when the Dalai Lama gave speeches on the March 10 Anniversary and in his lectures and the documents of the Tibetan government, there wasn't the wording, "We need total independence for the three provinces of Tibet". Since then they were just doing things tactfully and avoiding and beating around the bush [Tib. skor] and he didn't even say that outside the world. For example, when the Dalai Lama put forward the five point peace plan on the American Congress and then his speech in Strasburg on the European Parliament and also in India, he didn't talk about the total independence of Tibet. Then we were also disappointed and thought that this is going to be real give and take. One day, Gyalo Thondup said something in front of the Cabinet Minister when they had a trouble with the assembly and once I told Gyalo Thondup in San Francisco that you had said that in the Kashag. At that time, he said, "We should give the things that should be given and take the that should be taken. We should give Baliyalsum; [Tib. 'ba' li rgyal gsum]; Ba [ba'] Litang and Gyalthang [Tib. rgyal thang]." [to the Chinese]. But, in New York, he didn't say that much, because he thought that all the people there might be like thoughtful. Then he went to Torando and told the whole thing and there was a person from western Tibet, Tsang [Tib. gtsang] who asked him, "What do you mean by give and take? We think that the three provinces of Tibet is one country. So there is only something to take, we didn't know that there is something to give. Would you please explain what are you going to give and what are you going to take?" Then Gyalo asked, "Where are you from?" He said, "I am from Tsang and I was born in Tsang". Then Gyalo said, "Oh I see! If you are from Tsang, you don't need to worry about that. It will be given from down there from my homeland, it will not be given from your homeland". This is in the tape which he said on the meeting where the Tibetan National Assembly and the Kashag was present. At that time, Gyalo Thondup was the Senior Kalön of the Tibetan government and he was the second person under the Dalai Lama. He made this announcement and he had this plan. Since then, we, the Khambas were disappointed and thought that we had been holding this kind of goal, but they [Tibetan government] has duped us until now. We died where people need to die and we worked hard where they need people to work hard. After doing all this, we were included among the ones that should be given. If this is the case, we won't have a same viewpoint, right? Then I was really and strongly against them and I said, "I don't care I would have to confront whoever. In my whole life, in the beginning, my idea was that we need a united country of Tibet. The Chinese and the Tibetans have a different culture and the religion. So we, Tibet should get united. If we couldn't work out that, no matter it would be good or bad, autonomy or independent, the three provinces should be united in one. Otherwise, if some of us would become to be given and some of us would become to be taken, this would no be acceptable. We won't have a same idea with any body no matter who ever it is. If you don't have any other thoughts than this, we would have to think about our ourselves and we will become separated. And we didn't make it separated, but you, the Tibetan government made it separate by making relations with the Chinese. Then you talked with Taiwan and the Voice of America also announced it and the Kashag the Dalai Lama announced it on the March 10 Anniversary. So if we, the Khambas didn't think about ourselves, we became like neither included with the Tibetans nor with the Chinese. They divided the Khambas into 4 parts; one part in the Tibet Autonomous Region, one part in the Qinghai Autonomous Region, one part in the Yunnan Autonomous Region and one part in Sechuan Autonomous Region. Therefore, the time has come when the Khambas had to think about themselves. Until now, we have been thinking that all Tibetan are united and what the Dalai Lama is thinking and how we Tibetan worked hard is for one [goal], but if they would differentiate us, there would be only one thing for us to think about. This is the big trouble that we are facing. Some say that I went against and opposed the Dalai Lama, but I didn't go against the Dalai Lama. I signed a proposal [Tib. gros gzhi], what do you call it?

Q: Was it an agreement?

A: No, it wasn't an full agreement, it was just a draft of the agreement which was written on a common white paper, not on the Chushigandre official stationary [Tib. las shog] and the Guomindang official stationary of Taiwan. It was a three points proposal; The first point; when two China; the Guomindang and the communist would become one united democratic country, they shall accept to protect Tibet's self governing [Tib. rang lugs rang skyong] status to govern one's own land. The second point; the Dalai Lama shall be accepted as the temporal and spiritual leader of Tibet. The third point; China shall help Tibet on the religion, culture, modern education and economy in a equal [Tib. 'dra mnyam] manner. We went to Bangalore to talk. These were the three points and it was said it is very bad that the Chushigandru had signed this proposal. We three of us took this proposal and went to see the Dalai Lama in his room and told him, "We had this talk with the Tibet - Mongolia Office [Tib. bod sog las khungs] of the Guomindang. We have this kind of thought that in order to avoid the trouble caused by the Guomindang and if we could behave well and properly, we could pave a way for the future. We think it would be good if we could do this. So what shall we do with this" At that time, the Dalai Lama was so angry and said, "I will not accept this at all. I am not doing any thing. You take this to the cabinet ministers and the Assembly Chairman Samdong [Tib. zam gdong] Rimpoché and talk with them. I am not going to meddle with this". Then we told him, "Please don't say that. We have the reasons to report you". But, he said no. Then the cabinet ministers and the all of them caused a lot of trouble. Now, we landed in a soup of this trouble and the soup is still boiling. And the Tibetans like to boil soups. [laughter] So I don't have anything to do. Then I and some of my colleagues were told to resign from the president of Chushigandru. I said, "Why should we resign? What mistake did we make? Saying that the Dalai Lama should be the temporal and spiritual leader of Tibet, is it against him? What did the Tibetan government talk with the Chinese better than this? What did Gyalo Thondup tell the Chinese? The Dalai Lama said many times that he will not go beyond the talk that Deng

Xiaoping thought about except independence, [anything can be discussed]. In the 5 points put on in Strasgarg, the both the foreign policy and defence was given to the Chinese. Tibetans can govern inside Tibet, but he had accepted the Chinese to be the leader [Tib. dpon po]. Did we Chushigandru do this? Did we Chushigandru talk about give and take? In this world people are talking that the Dalai Lama's middle path which is neither independence nor any other one. Did we say that? On this matter, we had an argument in the Kashag for 4 hours and they didn't have anything to say.